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RELATION OF NATIONALISM TO INTERNATIONALISM; OR MANKIND ONE BODY.

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Read at the Chicago Peace Congress.

LANATUS' FABLE OF THE BELLY AND THE MEMBERS.

When, in the days of early Rome, the plebeians, in their first great rupture with the patricians, angrily seceded to the Sacred Mount, the venerable and patriotic Menenius Agrippa Lanatus, himself a worthy patrician, effected a reconciliation by his famous apologue of the Belly and the Members, as follows:

"In olden times, when every Member of the body could think for itself, and each had a separate will of its own, they all, with one consent, resolved to revolt against the Belly. They knew no reason, they said, why they should toil from morning to night in its service, while the Belly lay at its ease in the midst of all, and indolently grew fat upon their labors. Accordingly, they agreed to support it no more. The feet vowed they would carry it no longer; the hands that they would do no more work; the teeth that they would not chew another morsel of meat, even were it placed between them. Thus resolved, the Members for a time showed their spirit and kept their resolution. But they soon found that, instead of mortifying the Belly, they only reduced themselves to the last degree of emaciation."

ST. PAUL'S ANALOGY OF THE HUMAN BODY.

More than five hundred years afterwards, another Roman citizen, seeking to reconcile factions which were rending a certain community in Corinth, and perhaps remembering the apologue of old Lanatus, wrote as follows:

"As the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of the body, being many, are one body; so also is Christ. For in one Spirit were we all baptized into one body, whether Jews or Greeks, whether bond or free; and were all made to drink of one Spirit. For the body is not one member, but many. If the foot shall say, Because I am not the hand, I am not of the body; it is not therefore not of the body. And if the ear shall say, Because I am not the eye, I am not of the body; it is not therefore not of the body. If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing? If the whole were hearing, where were the smelling? But now hath God set the members each one of them in the body, even as it pleased him. And if they were all one member, where were the body? But now they are many members, but one body. And the eye cannot say to the hand, I have no need of thee; or again the head to the feet, I have no need of you. Nay, much rather, those members of the body which seem to be more feeble are necessary; and those parts of the body, which think to be less honorable, upon these we bestow more abundant honor; and our uncomely parts have more abundant comeliness; whereas our comely parts have no need; but God tempered the body together, giving more abundant honor to that part which lacked; that there should be no schism (rent, dismemberment) in the body; but that the members should have the same care for one another. And whether one member suffereth, all the members suffer with it; or one member is honored, all the members rejoice with it. Now ye are the body of Christ, and several members thereof (members each in his part"). 1 Cor. 12:12-27.

THE BODY A SYMBOL OF MANKIND.

But while the Roman Lanatus applied his analogy of the body only to the Roman State, I think we are gratified in applying it to that mightier State or Body which we call Mankind. Not, of course, that this bodily conception of Mankind is literally true; not as though it were really a physiological structure, having corporal organs. But it is ideally true. And ideas are often the truest of things. As the human body is a single organism, consisting of many different organs and functions, balanced in common counterpoise, and working in mutual interaction; so Mankind is a single moral organism, in like manner consisting of many diversities, balanced in similar counterpoise, and working in similar interaction. In other words, the relation of nationalism to internationalism is the relation of the members to the body. It is Christianity's positive, majestic contribution to Sociology, or the Philosophy of Society. For it is only when we conceive mankind as one colossal body, having all its organs in co-ordination and all its functions in reciprocal action, that we can truly grasp this mighty word—SOCIETY. It is a sublime conception; which shall yet, by God's grace, dominate humanity. Let me go somewhat into detail.

"BODY" IMPLIES DIVERSE "MEMBERS."

On the one hand, the term "body" itself implies "members." And "members" imply specific functions. Accordingly, in the one great nation of Mankind, the individuality of the component nations is still preserved. For each nation—oh, that all the nations understood it!—is charged with its own divine mission. Viewed in this light, each nation is, for the moment, a single person. Recall how Jehovah, in proclaiming his Ten Commandments, addressed the millions of Israel as a single personality or one corporate unity, saying: "I am Jehovah thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage." The Jews, surveyed as individuals, were many Israelites: the Jews, surveyed as a nation of individuals, were one Israel. But Israel was not the only nation that is a person. Every nation, worthy of the name of nation, is also a person, having at least some of the attributes of personality; that is, each nation has its own idiosyncrasies. Recall, for example, Egyptian constructiveness; Hebrew devoutness; Greek culture; Roman jurisprudence; Gothic impetuosity; Italian æstheticism; Chinese conservatism; Japanese flexibility; Indian (Asiatic) mysticism; Indian (American) nomadism; African docility; Scandinavian valor; Russian persistence; Swiss federalism; Spanish dignity; French savoir-faire; German philosophism; English indomitableness; Scotch shrewdness; Irish humor; Welsh eloquence; Canadian thrift; American versatility. Each nation has its own role definitely assigned it in the great drama of Mankind. What an insight into the philosophy of history the great missionary Apostle gives us when, addressing the proud autochthones of the Areopagus, he announced:

"God made of one (blood, nature) every nation of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, having determined their appointed seasons, and the bounds of their habitation." Acts 17:26.

"MEMBERS" IMPLY A COMMON "BODY."

On the other hand, the term "members" itself implies a common "body." If they were all one member, where

were the body? But now they are many members, but one body. Accordingly, while it is true that each nation has its own individual mission, it is also true that all the nations constitute one common Nation, namely, the one august body of mankind, the one sublime corpus or corporation of the human race; whereof each nation is, so to speak, a component member, and each individual a specific organ, having its own definite function to discharge in the one organism of Humanity. In other words, each nation, in simple virtue of its own existence as a nation, is also strictly international; being a corporate member of the one divinely incorporated Society of Mankind; so that its relation to its fellow-nations is a relation, not of hostile competition, but of integral co-operation. Precisely here, my countrymen, is one of the rich providential meanings of that sublime event in the history of Mankind which our Columbian Exposition is here commemorating. For it is the rare felicity of America, in virtue of our geographical isolation, being laved on both coasts by mighty oceans, and also in virtue of our political isolation, being free from what Jefferson called "entangling alliances" with foreign nations, that we occupy the vantage ground of being, to large extent, the neutral territory of the nations, and therefore the natural mediator for the peoples. It is the majestic possibility of America, that, looking toward the Northern Aurora, she can, as it were, extend her right hand across the Atlantic, and her left hand across the Pacific, and speak peace to the trans-oceanic races; or, as George Canning, in his "King's Message," says:—"I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old." But America can never realize this magnificent prerogative until she distinctly conceives herself as being not only national, but also international; not only as one great nation among other great nations, but also as a corporate, organic member of a still vaster Nation, even the body politic of Humanity, the corporation of Humankind. Now the discovery of America, by opening the two great oceans of Atlantic and Pacific for common transit and intercourse and property, made the two hemispheres complementary, rounding the angles of the nations into the one globe of Mankind; thus realizing the Pauline conception of making of the old twain the one new man in Christ. In fine, we shall never get beyond St. Paul's fundamental conception of the ideal Society, to wit, this: "WE ARE MEMBERS ONE OF ANOTHER." Accordingly, what mankind needs is the sense of what our French brothers call *esprit de corps*. And this *esprit de corps*, this sense of mankind comes to mankind only through the avenue and in the sphere of the Christian incarnation, or the embodiment of God in Jesus of Nazareth.

WAR IS SOCIAL SELF-MAIMING.

And now let me apply this sublime idea of international life or corporate mankind to that frequent and sad violation of it, namely, war. For, from what I have said concerning the bodily organism as the divine ideal of the one organic humanity, it follows that all war is social self-maiming. Indeed, it is just because we persist in conceiving society as a mechanical organization, like Hobbes' "Leviathan," rather than as a natural organism, like the human body, that we also persist in resorting to mechanical methods like war, rather than to natural methods like peace, for settling human quarrels. In fact, war is the culminating instance of what St. Paul calls a "schism in the body;" that is, rending asunder human society, or dismemberment of mankind.

PAST WARS SOMETIMES RELATIVELY RIGHT.

I would speak advisedly and justly. Devoutly believing as I do in the Bible, I must admit that, in the inscrutable counsels of the Eternal, even war has had its divine office; as, for example, when Jehovah used it as his minister of doom against the Canaanites. For aught I know, even heathen Attila himself was rightly named "The Scourge of God." No doubt there is a sense in which it is true that the instinct of self-defence is divinely implanted. But self-defence, at least physical, is not one of the ordinary conditions of society; it is an exceptional emergency; and it is manifestly absurd to deduce a rule from an exception.

GOD'S GOVERNMENT PROGRESSIVE.

Besides, we are living under the government of Almighty God. One of the fundamental principles of that government is progress. Accordingly, what may have been relatively right in the past may be absolutely wrong in the future. For we must distinguish between absolute truth, or truth as it exists unconditionally in the infinite mind, and relative truth, or truth as it appears to our finite minds, now under this set of conditions, now under that set. In other words, God, in revealing himself to men, has been pleased to use the law of adaptation; or, as the philosophers say, "the law of economy of action." For example:—Christ, in his doctrine of divorce, admitted that Moses allowed his countrymen a bill of divorcement for other causes than the cause which Christ himself specifies; but he immediately adds that Moses allowed divorcement because of his countrymen's "hardness of heart;" that is, because of that moral obtuseness into which they had sunk as one of the sad results of their long servitude in polygamous Egypt; but it was not so in the beginning; in Eden's primal estate no provision was made for divorce. And as it was with divorce, so it was with polygamy, slavery, retaliation, war: "In the generations gone by God suffered all the nations to walk in their own ways; those being times of ignorance which God winked at, overlooked."

FUTURE WARS ABSOLUTELY WRONG.

But now the times of knowledge have come. God, who in former times spoke to the fathers through the prophets, now speaks to us in his Son. That Son commands us, not from the wrathful heights of Sinai, but from the peaceful heights of Calvary. Moses said:—"Eye for eye, life for life." Jesus says:—"If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him to drink." And Jesus is gaining on Moses. Even within the comparatively short time since our own desolating strife ceased, the conceptions of men concerning mankind have wonderfully cleared and broadened; the great problem of Sociology itself has come conspicuously to the very front of human thinking. In fact, this great problem is no longer a local problem concerning societies or men; it is henceforth a universal problem concerning Society of Man. We are beginning to see that war of whatever kind, foreign as well as civic, is suicidal as well as murderous. It is as though the members should again revolt against the belly, or the foot should kick against the eye, or the right hand amputate the left. In fact, it is war which is the real stupidity; it is peace which is the real sagacity. The time is fast passing by when thoughtful men will any longer cherish the sentimental tradition and barbarous fancy that a question of national honor or international right can really be settled by an appeal to gun-

nery, however elaborate. If we were materialists, and really believed that the national honor consists in a peculiarly deft arrangement of molecules, then we might consistently defend the national honor by a molecular appeal. In fact, brute force is the animal's standard of ethics. As good Isaac Watts, in lines more remarkable for accuracy of observation than for accuracy of theology, naively sings:

"Let dogs delight to bark and bite.
For God hath made them so;
Let bears and lions growl and fight,
For 'tis their nature, too."

But, if we believe that right and honor and truth are in their nature spiritual, not carnal, then let the weapons of our warfare be also spiritual, not carnal; so shall we become mighty before God to the casting down of strongholds.

DIVINE SUMMONS TO DISARMAMENT.

Here, then, I take my stand as a Christian man. Solemnly believing that the policy of my Divine Master is a policy of peace, I as solemnly believe that my Divine Master is summoning earth's nations to a policy of disarmament. How they shall effect this disarmament—whether suddenly or gradually, whether separately or simultaneously—I do not presume to assert. But I do presume to assert, unhesitatingly and unqualifiedly, that the time has come when the nations should commit themselves openly to the policy of disarmament. I remember, indeed, that George Washington declared before Congress that "to be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace." Allow me, however, to submit, as I do most humbly, whether, in this late age of Christendom the converse of Washington's maxim is not even truer:—*To prepare for peace by disarming is the most effectual means of preventing war.* Nor is this suggestion novel; so long ago as 1798, Benjamin Rush, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, proposed the establishment of a Peace Department which should be co-ordinate with the Army and Navy Departments. I am well aware of the gravity of the problem. I believe that we still need a body of armed men who shall serve, if you please, as our National Police on land and sea. But let us be peacefully content with calling it our police department instead of vaunting it as our military armament, ready to accept, and, if need be, offer martial challenge. Of course, many will call me an idealist. But ideals have ever been the uplifting forces for humanity. The visionary of to-day is the conqueror of to-morrow.

AMERICA'S GREAT OPPORTUNITY.

Meanwhile, if I had the ear of my beloved Country, I would venture to offer this suggestion:—Let our American nation propose to our brother nations to disarm; substituting arbitration, or some other pacific policy, for armament. I feel sure that all of us, whether Republicans or Democrats, whether natives or immigrants, will agree that, if there is on earth a nation that can afford to disarm and be known as the great peace-people, it is the American nation; for our fortunes do not vibrate in the oscillating balance of European powers. We are strong enough, and ought to be brave enough, to say to our brother-nations of Mankind:

"We believe that war is a foolish and wicked policy, let us disarm, referring our disputes, not to the bloody decisions of capricious war, but to the peaceful arbitra-

ment of Christian common-sense. Let us enter into a covenant of everlasting amity; organizing a peace league that shall be not only Pan-American, but also pan-human. We Americans take the initiative in inviting all the nations of the earth to meet with us in that greatest of Congresses,—

'The Parliament of man, the federation of the world.'

DISARMAMENT PRACTICABLE.

Nor is this by any means impracticable. For example: The Geneva Arbitration alone has done wonders in shedding light on the feasibility and duty of disarmament: for it has shown us how war may be averted, and the national honor be kept unstained. Within our own century, there have been seventy-six cases of successful international arbitration; to nearly one-half of which I am proud to say, the United States has been a party. What an inspiring spectacle to the nations is the pending Behring Strait Arbitration! Do you say that our Master's precept of non-resistance is visionary? The pacific policy of William Penn, founder of the great Commonwealth which bears his own friendly name, fighting barbarous aborigines with no sword but the olive-branch—this is the sufficient answer. Talk about Utopia? Bravely obey Jesus Christ; and Utopia—ideal land of Nowhere—becomes Actuality—real land of Everywhere.

SUMMARY.

Here I rest my argument. I might, of course, have brought forth other considerations, more familiar perhaps, but in my judgment, less momentous. I might, for instance, have descanted on the wastefulness of war; its frightful waste of money, of time, of strength, of health, of capacity, of love, of joy, of morals—in one great word—of life. Never producing, forever consuming—this is the very genius of that monstrous pitiless ghastly fugitive from the infernal abyss, whose name in the Hebrew tongue is Abaddon; in the Greek, Apollyon; in the English, Destroyer. England's Iron Duke, "foremost captain of his time," never said a truer or sadder thing than in his despatch from the red field of Waterloo: "Nothing except a battle lost can be half so melancholy as a battle won." But, while such considerations as these might perhaps have been more thrilling, I have chosen to take higher ground, appealing to a loftier principle. That loftier principle is this: The divine conception of all mankind as one single body, one colossal moral organism. In this majestic conception lies the secret of the reconciliation of the great schism in the one body of humanity. The cure of war lies not in the suspicion and enmity and rivalry that are entrenched in armaments; the cure of war lies in the confidence and brotherhood and co-operation that are announced in disarmament. For in what proportion mankind feels itself to be what its Maker and Lord meant it should be, namely, one organic person rather than a congeries of organized structures—in that proportion race strifes will cease, nation saying to nation: "We are members one of another." Accordingly, what mankind needs is to be educated into the perception of the possibility of its own moral equilibrium; the sense of its own social equipoise.

"Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and forts,
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need of arsenals nor forts."

LONGFELLOW.